

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## Women Call: "End the War, Negotiate Peace Now"

**Dame Sybil Thorndike**  
says . . . .

**SOON IT WILL BE TOO LATE**



**T**OMORROW, Saturday, in many parts of the country, by marching and open-air meetings, women will demonstrate their determination that this war shall not continue. Before millions of young men have been slaughtered, before millions of homes have been destroyed, before the lying propaganda of hatred has reached its zenith, before the revengeful spirit of reprisal has dulled every spark of humanity, and the final degradation of man has set in, we will demand with all the power and energy we possess that this senseless war shall cease. We believe that a just peace could be negotiated now. There is urgency in that *now*. For every day that the war continues, the chances of a real peace become more remote.

There has been much criticism of the efforts of our Women's Peace Campaign. One article, which I have by me as I write, suggests it is not the concern of women to save humanity, and contends that it is not a feminist question, but a socialist one.

To that I would reply that, never for a single moment, have we felt the stopping of this war to be solely a feminist issue. We are merely being driven by the knowledge deep down within us that women have a tremendous contribution to make to peace at this moment, and the regret that, up to now, our efforts have not been great enough.

When I wrote in *Peace News* at the beginning of our campaign, I suggested that it is only by rediscovering those things which are fundamental to all women that we can learn to live our rhythm.

A few weeks ago in a women's club I heard the escapades of a small boy evacuee being described in accents of bitter hatred. The woman telling the story spoke of the lad as if he was of some inferior species, completely evil. Mercilessly she continued her tirade, finally expressing the hope that he would be flogged. As I hurried from the room in horror, I found myself muttering, "God, and she is a woman!" I said that because, in those few minutes, by her hardness, her bitter hatred, her desire for revenge, her utter lack of love and imagination, I knew she had violated all that is fundamental to real woman.

We shall bring peace to the world, not by realizing our equality with men (I am never quite sure what that means), but by being true women.

Ultimately I am convinced that nothing short of a new faith can save the world, or, rather, a faith which will rise from the ashes of the old. In the religion as hitherto taught by our Churches there has been little or no place for woman. In the Christianity which will be born from the present anguish of the world I believe woman, having rediscovered those things which are of her very nature, will have an integral part.

But to our immediate task; negotiate a just peace now. Because now is the moment. Because soon it will be too late. Because the neutral countries are ready to negotiate. And, above all, because all men and women of good will in this country, in Germany, and in France, and all over Europe, whatever their Governments may be saying, know war to be utterly vile and desire peace with all their hearts.

As I write, at the back of my mind, a doubt raises its head and asks: "But can we stop this war?" To that persistent question I reply: "I do not know. I only know that we must try. That, unless we use all the energy of our minds and bodies in this great effort, we shall betray those very things which are basic to us as women."

**Mary Gamble**

Chairman,  
Women's Peace  
Campaign

## What the World Needs Is "Wise Housekeeping"

**"If** you women really cared, you could stop war, you could save the world." This has been said to me times without number by all sorts of men—pacifist, non-pacifist, socialist, sometimes even by the stolid whatever-the-Conservative-Government-does-is-God's-will type, and deep down in me I believe it is true.

Women from the beginning of things have been trained as housekeepers, and what the world wants today is good housekeeping. Our present troubles spring from bad housekeeping far more than from the natural wickedness of nations who do not happen to be English.

For the life of me I have never been able to understand why the principles which underlie decently run homes, and individuals in those homes could not be applied to the larger home—the nation—and, larger still, the family of nations which is our human world. When a principle works on a small scale, it is pretty sure to work on a large one—details are not the same but the general spirit should be.

### Home Life Analogy

If sons and daughters of a family behave badly we always look at the home in which they have been brought up, and discover where the government has been too strict, too slack—perhaps unfair. We also take a good look at the forbears, and the mother is the one to whom we usually attach blame or praise for the behaviour of the children.

A woman knows that all in the home must have a share in the common good—space and leisure, food, education, freedom—and if these are not fairly apportioned there will be trouble. A woman has to deal differently with each member of the home—differences of temperament have to be allowed for, help given when those temperaments clash, those who are greedy have to be controlled for the sake of those who are not, the strong not allowed to usurp the rights of the weak; one can go through any number of these obvious rules which make a home decent, happy and free—or the opposite—and nearly every one is applicable to the life of the nation and the life of the family of nations.

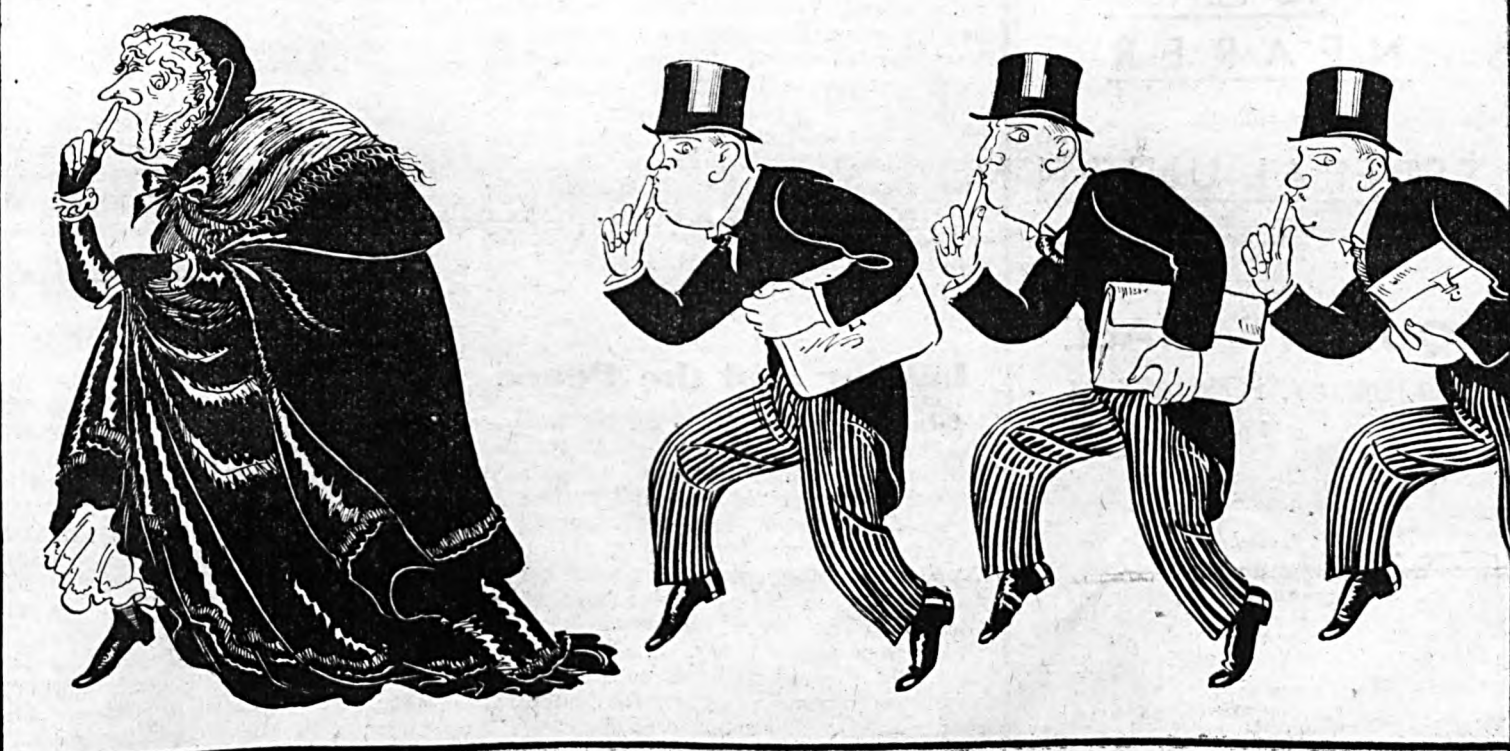
How odd it is that we so seldom apply

these rules in the larger government! One is told, "Ah, it's much more subtle than that. You women over-simplify. That's dangerous." (I always suspect that the enthusiasm men have for games leads them to invent more and more intricacies to make the game of politics difficult and complicated!)

A woman knows that government of a home or a nation is not a thing in itself. It is not God. It is a means, whereby people and nations may live happily side by side; and if one way doesn't work then try another; if one way is leading to complete disaster, don't be hide-bound and confuse

(Continued on page 5)

### THREADNEEDLE STREET



**SOFT, WE ARE OBSERVED—** . . . the Bank Rate has gone up, but I reply by asking why has it gone up? It is wrong that there should be this appalling profiteering at the expense of the community. This difference costs £900,000 a week" (The Member for Ipswich)—CARTOON BY DENIS TEGETMEIER

STOP PRESS



## A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

Wilfred Wellock writes:—

THE problem of today is this: Which is the way to peace—through seas of blood, or through justice and generosity?

The Labour Party, in its latest Declaration, lays it down emphatically, that totalitarianism is to be ended, democracy and world peace secured, via the slaughter of countless human beings. We stand aghast!

The obstacle to world peace is Hitler's totalitarian tyranny, declares the Labour Party.

But not the sole obstacle, surely! Even that tyranny had a cause, and in that cause this country has a share. Also our share in that evil which brought Hitler to power is still operative. The oppressive power of our imperialism is a living fact today.

Does this not suggest that the right and reasonable thing for us to do is to put our own house in order, and here and now set about in business-like fashion to remove the wrong for which we are responsible as our best contribution to a sane and peaceful world?

### What Empires Involve

One wrong begets another. And Hitler—also Japan and Italy, whom we conveniently forget these days—has been teaching us these last years, that one empire begets another. But to build up an empire, these days, requires totalitarianism, and offers a new challenge to rival imperial Powers, which in the end means war, as we now see.

The problem thus arises: Where are we to start in the task of removing this new tyranny of totalitarianism? By conducting a war which will intensify and start new totalitarian tendencies all along its course, and end, as I will later explain, in a wide extension of totalitarian rule? Or are we to trace the evil to its source, and try to remove it? If we try the latter method we shall soon discover that we have some share in the cause.

Is it not, therefore, much more reasonable to start here and now the difficult process of removing the causative evil than to call for placing 20,000,000 lives on the altar of Mars, as a colossal sacrifice in order to purge Germany of an evil for which we are in part responsible and which we refuse to remove?

### War Means World Ruin

And what is the likelihood that this colossal, barbaric sacrifice will attain the end desired? The facts go to prove that it will have the very opposite effect from that desired, will lead to world social and economic breakdown.

It is well known that a very powerful section in France is in favour of dismembering Germany after this war, and thus of sending her back to 1866, when she was a conglomeration of separate kingdoms.

It should be obvious that a prolonged war, with all its horrors, sacrifices and privations, will play into the hands of this section of French opinion and thus help to rule out all possibility of a reasonable peace.

## Wilfred Wellock Discusses Labour's Declaration on the War and the Peace :: Mr. Welles' Mission in Europe

Further, it can be demonstrated that the enormous increase in the world's power of production during the present war will lend to even more drastic measures of self-protection and economic nationalism than were taken in the slump of 1930-32, as a result of which the present Nazi régime came into being.

### Mountain of Debt

Then consider the financial situation. A short time ago this country was spending £6 million a day on the war. Within a few months the figure will probably be up to £10 millions a day.

The other belligerent States are also moving in the same direction. Moreover, as the crescendo of the war develops, fear grows in all the neutral countries, big and little, and thus sends them into ever-mounting expenditure on armaments and military preparation.

The effect of all this will be to erect a colossal mountain of international debt, which may well destroy democracy throughout the world. Capitalism will insist on that debt being honoured and the interest being paid. If default is permitted, it will bring down the entire capitalist system. But if the world is to pay the interest on that debt it will cause the acceptance of an intolerably low standard of living.

### Rational Alternative

If you add to this condition the incidence of large-scale unemployment, it will be apparent that society will only tolerate these conditions under compulsion, that is by the repressive methods of a totalitarian regime.

The only alternative to that outcome will be revolution and Communism.

That, then, is what the British people are to reap as a reward for responding to Labour's appeal "to contribute their utmost effort to the overthrow of the Hitler system in Germany."

Surely there is a rational alternative to this obviously suicidal policy?

From the beginning of the world men have adopted two ways of dealing with evil: They have met it with its kind, evil, and they have met it with its real antidote, good.

The latter method is doubly called for in this war, for one reason because in very similar circumstances the former method so completely failed 25 years ago, but also because Britain and France are largely responsible for the coming of the Nazi regime.

We loudly decry Germany's aggression of the last three years, but discreetly forget Ottawa and Versailles, which symbolize acts of aggression and power-politics no less than the first. To monopolize the earth's resources by virtue of imperial power gained in past aggression in power-politics, and as reprehensible as the aggression which it calls forth.

Oh, for a grain of honesty, a little clear thinking, and the courage to face one's own shortcomings and be the first to make amends by taking one bold step in the direction of justice and sincere co-operation!

### Labour and the Peace

I fail to see any future for the Labour Party unless it is able to repudiate the wholesale slaughter of human beings as a method of escape from an evil system in which all the Powers have participated.

A new world will not come by preaching alone. It can only come by someone beginning to practise the principles upon which it rests. The world is awaiting such enlightened action today. Shall it wait in vain, and the old methods continue until liberty perishes everywhere and civilization crumbles like a house of sand?

The Labour Party has declared its Peace Aims in addition to its War Aims. It knows that those Peace Aims are not accepted by the present Government. It ought to know

that the present or an equally reactionary successor will make the real Peace Treaty. There will be no election until after the war, and then it will take place when war victory will return the present Government with a big majority. Hence the Peace Aims of the Labour Party will never get further than the paper they are written on.

I therefore say to the Labour Party, if you kill, kill, kill, we shall reap a harvest of hate and dragons' teeth. But if you act courageously now, on the lines of justice and generosity, you will start a ferment which will surprise you, for the whole world is longing for the tranquillity of peace, and thus for the signs of its coming.

It is in your power to produce those signs, and one thing is sure: deep down in the soul of humanity is an instinctive knowledge that in the killing of millions of men, women and children there is no hope of the world's salvation.

### American Peace Mission

THE mission of the American Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, to Europe "to gather information about conditions in Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain" is good news. It calls for greater devotion to their task from those who are working for peace, rather than for any resting on oars.

For the chief reaction, especially among the belligerents, and more particularly in our own country, has been to say, in effect, "Good, Mr. Welles will now be able to tell Americans how just our cause really is. He can't imagine there is any prospect of peace." In fact, comment in our press has been in almost exactly those very words—with a disturbing linking of the justice of our cause with the injustice of that of—not Germany so much as Russia!

True, the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Times*, on Monday, did suggest that Mr. Welles "wishes to form a clearer idea of what exactly the Allies have in mind" when they say vaguely that "there must be safeguards against the German habit of aggression, and there must be restitution and liberty for the Poles and the Czechs." Superficial as that might seem and (in a sense) be, it would undoubtedly be a tremendous step forward, since it would constitute, in effect, a definite proposal to which the German Government—or people—could give their attention, and (which is the real point) toward which a Neutral could have some hope of pressing the German Government.

At present, no advance is made for fear, on the one hand, that the Allied "aims" mean anything up to the full restoration of frontiers which responsible British statesmen have denounced in the strongest possible terms as unwarrantable, and because of an assumption, on the other, that the Germans' intention to hold their ill-gotten gains (and by the abominable methods by which they now hold them) is unalterable. Even if both fear and assumption were well founded (which is inconceivable) at least no harm could be done by attempting to find common ground.

It is a pity our country is not great enough or strong enough to make such a move at once and openly, or at least by taking the initiative in approaching the enemy through a Neutral. As a correspondent has pointed out, "it is no sign of weakness to indicate willingness to negotiate for the peaceful settlement of any dispute; on the contrary, it is a sign of strength and right thinking, and this becomes all the more a public duty where the lives and future happiness of so many are at stake."

We come back to the real and abiding need—a will to peace. A mere abhorrence of war is not necessarily that, and a purely negative demand to "stop the war," while inevitable in itself for all who have themselves renounced war as such, might well be as disastrous as an appearance of co-operation with Mr. Welles' inquiries that, in fact, lacked the spirit of co-operation.

And it is in endeavouring to ensure a real will to a real peace that the ordinary peace labourer comes in.

Andrew Stewart writes:—

IN its last two issues the *Sunday Dispatch* has given prominence to the familiar type of "revelations" about "organizations endangering the national effort by spreading pacifist propaganda."

On Sunday, February 4, it devoted its front page to "exposing" some of these organizations. All it could say about the Peace Pledge Union was that it assisted young men to avoid military service. It was, unfortunately, unable to reveal that Dr. Goebbels is secretly a sponsor, or that Mr. Rowntree has been able to keep the books balanced only by liberal supplies of Nazi gold.

Last Sunday the most prominent article on its back page was what purported to be an account of a Bognor meeting addressed by John Barclay: "... it was anything but peaceful. A patriotic audience saw to that."

Apparently the outraged patriots celebrated the close of the meeting by singing the national anthem. "Members of the Peace Pledge Union ignored them. And Mr. Barclay and Mr. A. Scovell, who was with him on the platform, sat with their hands in their pockets."

I have had a first-hand account of this meeting.

Some 135 people packed the small Baptist Church Hall to hear John Barclay speak on "Which Way to Peace?" In the chair was the widely-respected Rev. F. G. Fincham, Vicar of East Preston. "Mr. A. Scovell is unknown: he certainly was not on the platform."

Mr. Barclay spoke for an hour. There were no interruptions. When questions were invited one of four dissentients suggested that Mr. Barclay should be tried for treason. When the meeting ended the four, accompanied by another pair, struck up the anthem, and the audience, which had risen to leave, remained standing until the singing finished. There was no uproar and no affront by the platform such as the *Dispatch* alleges. Many of the audience stayed behind to tea, and the meeting continued informally for a further two hours.

On the following day the *Daily Express* gave prominence to a report of a trial tribunal in Ewell. Again, the bald, innocuous facts were so presented as to create prejudice against this simple method of giving objectors greater confidence in stating their case.

The pacifist movement must be a power in the land indeed to be regarded as fair game for misrepresentations of this kind. Attacks based upon foundations so paltry are bound to fail.

An editorial note in the *Eastern Daily News*, of February 10, referring to incidents similar to that at Bognor, is sanely phrased:

#### "The Right of Free Speech."

"We need hardly say that we do not share the misguided views of the Peace Pledge Union. We do, however, deplore the fact that twice since war began meetings which its followers have held at Bungay have been broken up by premeditated interruption."

"The visiting speaker on the first occasion was Mr. Stuart Morris, who succeeded the late Rev. Dick Sheppard as chairman of the Union, and on Thursday the speaker was Mr. John Barclay, the general organizer. From the outset Mr. Barclay was given to understand by one who is reported to have said: 'I am very proud of myself to be here to stop this meeting,' that the chances of a fair hearing were remote, and when the objector began to sing the National Anthem the company dispersed and met again elsewhere."

Loyalty and patriotism are best expressed in action, but to break up a meeting which the law of the country permits to be held is a very wrong way of trying to do so. Free speech within the wide limits allowed by law has for long been one of our most cherished rights, and it is one of the things which this country is fighting to preserve. It is to be hoped that Bungay will not allow itself to be numbered among those few places in this country where this freedom is no longer inviolate."

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## Support for the Women's Campaign

from  
GEORGE LANSBURY

I HOPE all women members and friends of the Peace Pledge Union will do everything in their power to make the processions and meetings to be held tomorrow a great success. The object of these gatherings is to spread the "Gospel of Peace"—peace based upon good will, comradeship, and love.

It is more important than ever that all of us, women and men, girls and boys, should stand together and declare our faith in the gospel of love as against the gospel of hatred and despair. Amid the horrors taking place on sea and land and in the air, it may to some seem a crazy thing to talk of brotherhood and love. Yet these simple words contain the only message that will save mankind from chaos and ruin. All the schemes formulated by the wise and brilliant will fail unless founded on the solid foundation of love.

So I hope many thousands of women will respond to the call, "Come, let us reason together," and stop the insane, murderous slaughter of the youth of the world.

\*

from

Mrs. PETHICK-LAWRENCE

THERE is, so I have read, a district in India, where monkeys are regarded as sacred. Periodically a troop of these "sacred monkeys" invade some flourishing garden and proceed to pluck every blossom from its stem, and strew the ground with petals. The owner of the garden dare not interfere, because he dare not arouse the fear of his superstitious neighbours.

The sacred monkeys! They symbolize to me the unreasoning qualities of human nature—those impulses of greed and domination tallied by the fear and superstition of the herd-mind when the reasoning faculties are paralysed.

The peoples of every country ardently desire peace. We are betrayed into war not only by the greed of commercial and financial vested-interests, and the dominating instincts of imperialism, but by the responding instincts of fear and self-interest in the common people—in ourselves.

Yet human nature can rise to a level that is divine and does so every day—in the mother who sacrifices life for her child, in the miner who goes back into the burning pit to rescue a comrade, in the sailor who saves a drowning enemy.

Why should not *homo sapiens* assume control of the sacred monkeys who are ravaging his garden? Why should not reason assert itself now before instinctive herd impulses have destroyed our terrestrial home? Is it too late? Must we go through the devastating experience once more—before we learn that only the individual and the nation that is controlled by the godlike faculty of reason can be saved from the fate of those who wander in darkness in a world ruled not by the law of God, but by the law of the jungle?

## The People's Voice at a Peace Conference

The International Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Geneva recently, urged "most strongly that at a conference which will eventually determine the terms of peace, the widest possible representation of the people shall be assured."

## OUT TO-DAY

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# Women Must Help To Plan The World as a Home

says

RUTH FRY

"American industry hates war."  
"No sensible person believes that profits can come out of the wreckage of human life and economic dislocation."

THESE are recent utterances of important American business men and organizations quoted by Gareth Garrett in his remarkable article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for January 13, in which he states that American business is beginning to see the utter futility of war.

It is not, he believes, only the moral aversion which right-minded Americans feel to it, not only the fear of America's getting entangled in war, nor their fear of the Government's seizing their businesses, but a growing realization that war itself is a fool's game.

If this be true, it is a most important fact, bound to lead to further developments, and soon we hope to be realized equally in this country. To the peace-devotee, it seems that every possible argument tells against war—the ethical, the emotional, the aesthetic, the economic, the financial—with nothing whatever in favour of it. But yet its glory can sometimes be made to shine with a very artificial light.

If its effectiveness from the economic point of view can be finally "debunked" it would give hope of victory. It is difficult to tell which argument will be the one to give the mortal wound to war; we must try them all.

## "A Man's Game"

DIFFERENT arguments apply to men and to women, and war has been essentially a man's game and an almost constant one.

It has been estimated that from the fifteenth century B.C. down to the present day, a period, that is, of about 3,400 years, there have only been some 234 years of peace, or fourteen years of war to one of peace.

The world from ages ago has been planned and run by men, and for men, with women in the background, sewing and cooking, bearing and rearing children. It has been like the half-moon, with only one half visible.

Now at long last the other half should be visible (and shall we say audible?) and women should bring to bear their special contribution on world problems. They must not only use their votes to put in what one ignorant old lady in 1931 described as a "safe" Government; to which a well-known economist answered with the prophecy that on the contrary its policies would bring the disaster of European war about 1939, a remarkably exact prophecy.

Two groups have throughout their history given women equality of place with men, the Society of Friends and the Salvation Army. As a member of the former, it behoves me to leave to others to judge of the success of this venture.

## Women's Contribution

WOMEN have not been bearing and rearing children, sewing and cooking all these years for nothing. Their contribution to the "full-moon" should be a truly constructive one.

They know the agony of birth, the long and patient work of developing a baby into a man ready to kill and be killed in battle. They know the endless cost and toil of keeping even a little home running. They know that good housekeeping entails lack of waste, careful use of materials, cleanliness, and, in the mental sphere, good fellowship and scope for all the inmates if friction is to be avoided.

A home, in fact, is an artistic creation, a whole, which needs brains to plan. In the home much simple philosophy is taught by proverbs. We have all been told that the "proof of the pudding is in the eating," that "ye canna clean things with dirty clouts," that "fine words butter no parsnips."

The nations must come swiftly to this nursery stage, and learn by "eating" that the pudding of war gives acute indigestion and starvation; that the "cleansing" by war makes a filthy world, and that the fine words of lying lead to emptiness and disgrace.

NOW, thanks to science and machinery, the world grown small needs to be planned like a home. We can no longer think in terms of isolated countries, we must make a world community.

Nationalism shrieks aloud its vast importance in ignorance of necessary change. We have not realized this necessity to think in world terms and the time-lag in thought has produced the chaos of today.

So here is women's tremendous responsibility and opportunity. They may regret, in England, that they came to political power at such a crucial point in history, but there is no retreat possible, and they must pull their weight; in fact they must make up for all the lost time, and persuade men to join them in planning the "full-moon world."

The intolerable waste, destruction, utility and crime of war must be obvious to them, and they must exert all their efforts to obtain an early peace. The nations are doing their best to shut themselves up into water-tight, thought-tight, and commodity-tight compartments (very stuffy!) with vertical fences between them.

And as fences can be broken down by some horizontal power, such as water flooding their foundations, so horizontal powers, groups of people, that is, who are to be found within all the enclosed cages, must be brought to bear to counteract this artificial division. And of these horizontal groups the world-wide sisterhood of women is obviously the greatest of all. If they could but unite in this great task of world-planning, what might they not achieve?

## Build a New World

THEY need to persuade the world that victory is a will-o'-the-wisp. The see-saw

with one end on the ground tends to swing to the opposite extreme; when nearly balanced, its movements are far steadier.

Women need to show the world that living customers are better than dead enemies; that to destroy European civilization to get rid of one man, is burning down your house to get roast pork with a vengeance! That we are all members one of another and in sharing freely the world's bounty there will be enough and to spare.

So let us plan and visualize the new world while we work for an armistice, so that we may be ready to bring it into being.

How fine it would be if some woman like Anne Lindbergh, who is already a pioneer in the air, should gather around her the best women's brains from all the world over and paint the aerial picture of a new world community. Thought is seething everywhere and countries are not thought-tight, whatever the Governments may do, women must collect new points of view, ponder and collate them, and submit their picture of this World Home to rulers everywhere.

Let women invite men to join them in building the Full-Moon World!

## More Votes Against the War

THE by-election at Central Southwark, the result of which was announced on Monday, was the third to be contested by a "Stop-the-War" candidate.

He was Councillor C. W. Searson, who received 1,550 votes against 5,285 for Mr. J. H. Martin, Labour candidate, and 1,382 for Mrs. Van der Elst (National Independent).

At the Stretford by-election in December, two "Stop-the-War" candidates (Independent Labour Party and Communist) received 5,943 votes out of a total of 29,351; and at Clackmannan in October the pacifist "Stop-the-War" candidate polled 1,060 out of 16,705.

"Stop-the-War" candidates have therefore polled 8,553 votes out of a total of 54,273.

# ROSES IN FEBRUARY

To those who object (forgetting the famous justification for memory) that there are no roses in February we reply that, as keen gardeners, we ourselves get our choicest blooms of the year in winter: in the glowing pages of nurserymen's catalogues, where flowers never fade, never suffer from mildew or blackspot, and where they bloom continuously for months on end.

A rose we often see listed has an unpronounceable name and the rare virtue—alleged at least—of no thorns. If this be true we must cast aside one more adage, the adage that every rose has its thorn: although the conception is slightly startling as of a camel without a hump.

Many investors think a good investment is like a rose, the bloom of the yield marred to some extent by large and prickly thorns of income tax. But in St. Pancras Building Society they find the rose without the thorn; a generous return on which there is no income tax to pay. And if they invest before the end of March they will get interest at the high rate of four per cent. per annum, free of tax. What you might call a Paul's Scarlet on the stem of a narcissus!

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# A PRAYER FOR PEACE

By Anne Morrow Lindbergh

We republish below extracts from the remarkable article by the wife of the famous American aviator, Col. Lindbergh, which was a feature of the January issue of "The Reader's Digest."

We do so because we believe Mrs. Lindbergh's plea for peace to be one of the most moving and convincing ever made by a woman.

We congratulate "The Reader's Digest" on giving such prominence and circulation to this timely appeal for sanity and charity in facing the international problem of the hour.

★

*"I would have gone to my lord in his need,  
Have galloped there all the way,  
But this is a matter concerns the State,  
And I, being a woman, must stay."*

*I may walk in the garden and gather  
Lilies of mother-of-pearl.*

*I had a plan would have saved the State,  
—But mine are the thoughts of a girl.*

*The Elder Statesmen sit on the mats,  
And wrangle through half the day;  
A hundred plans they have drafted and  
dropped,  
And mine was the only way."*

THIS POEM, which I found the other day in a book of Chinese lyrics, was written in 675 B.C. The translator, Helen Waddell, who must also be a poet, adds as her only comment another quotation: "Is there anything whereof it may be said, 'See, this is new'? It hath been already of old time, which was before us."

"Of old time"—since time immemorial this has been the attitude taken about women when they interfere in the affairs of the State, when they talk, with a woman's point of view, of war or peace.

But here I am speaking as a woman, a weak woman, if you will—emotional, impulsive, illogical, conservative, dreaming, impractical, pacific, unadventurous, any of the feminine vices you care to pin on me. I write knowing that all those vices cannot help but be used to undermine anything I say. I write, knowing fully that I may be laughed at, brushed aside with that new broom so handy to modern critics, that facile condemnation of the amateur intruding into a field he knows little about. I write because I feel these things so passionately that I must cry out.

## Cannot Forget

I have tried not to write this article. I have tried to "mind the silkworm and the loom"; to absorb myself in my children and in my house. I have tried to put the thoughts of Europe and of war behind me and tend to my own affairs. And I cannot. I go to bed with these thoughts; I get up with them. They are there when I take my boy to school in the morning, when the trees, knee-deep in autumn mist, lift their glowing offering of leaves to a brilliant sky.

"All this beauty," I think, "and they are fighting in Europe."

The same thoughts are there when I sit with my baby on the porch and he points out to me an airplane boring through the crystalline blue above us. "But they are dropping bombs in Europe," I think. The airplane, which is still such a miracle to me that I cannot let one pass by without looking up, that I cannot hear one, even as a distant drone without, to some extent, blessing it in my heart—the airplane can no longer be looked upon as the expression of that most beautiful thing, man's hope; it has become the expression of that most terrible thing, man's fear.

Perhaps, it is only because I have lived the happiest years of my married life in England and France that I feel all this. Perhaps, because I have friends there and I am thinking of their suffering. Perhaps, because I have come to value so highly the life and thought that is there, and turn to it as a kind of intellectual and spiritual home. But I know that many other men and women who have not had these same connexions feel the same way.

So I write now, not only because I myself feel these things deeply, but also because I am convinced there are many others here in America who may agree with me. And it is in an effort to reach these people, to communicate with them and perhaps to express some of their thoughts, that I finally speak. I speak for a patient, persistent, intelligent, long-range attitude toward peace.

What a time, one may well say, to speak for peace, now that the last efforts for peace seem to have irrevocably slipped by. Yet since this war has started, and since it has, like all other wars before it as the ultimate end, peace—we have a right to think about it and to plan. . . .

Since we do not intend to get into this war, should we not let the Allies prosecute it as they think best, without criticism and with deep humility? Deep humility, first, because we are not suffering and they are. And also deep humility because we cannot consider ourselves entirely blameless for the mistakes in the past quarter century which have led to this conflagration.

We may indeed, looking back from the secure look-out tower of time, wonder why the Allies did not offer a just peace to a defeated Germany—or else enforce an unjust one? Why they did not support a struggling Republic in Germany, or else crush a rising totalitarian State while there was still time?

But if we are disillusioned about Europe, they are also bitterly disillusioned about us. We gave them a dream of "World Peace" and "Collective Security"—impractical as it may have been—and then left them unsupported with the problem of carrying it out.

And this humility should urge us not to take our responsibility lightly. It should urge us to consider at every point and at every turning and at every pause in this conflict, whether instead of using our terrific power to back war we might not be able to use it to back peace. Our attitude might vastly influence the world. It might shorten this war from three years to one year, or from ten years to five years, or from thirty years to ten years. It might even put on end to a war which has scarcely begun.

To desire an early end to this conflict is not, as so many people seem to think, to support aggression, or to condone the use of brute power. I hate the use of brute power as much as you do, as much as any Frenchman, any Englishman, or any American. I hate it in small and in big things; in nations and in personal life. . . .

## Not Condoning Violence

It is not a question of condoning these methods; it is a question whether they will be rooted out by the means now advocated; whether war will kill them or feed them; whether the Nazi regime is the cause of all the world's troubles and whether if you struck it down we would have a pacified and contented Europe.

There is much talk today of making war not on the German people but on "Hitlerism." Is Hitler the colossal lone adventurer most people would like to think? Or is he not rather, he and his regime, the embittered spirit of a strong and deeply humiliated people? If you put the people down by force again, and take away their leaders, will this mean peace? Or will it only mean that other Hitlers will arise from the seeds of hate in another twenty years?

The spirit of an embittered Germany—it is irrelevant whether or not we feel this spirit is justified, or whether we admire such a spirit. The fact is, it is there. You cannot kill a spirit; you cannot incarcerate it. It returns like Hamlet's ghost. The

ghost of Hitler will haunt an uneasy Europe for generations if the course of this war and its consequent peace is the same as that of the last war. . . .

Is there a way out? There is still the flickering hope of an early peace. One looks at this fitful gleam on the horizon as a flier looks at the flash of a beacon, marking, possibly, an emergency field when he is lost in a storm at night. . . .

Think what a peace might be if it were executed at the beginning instead of at the end of a war. If it were worked out before millions of lives had been lost, strength used up, bitterness branded in the hearts of men. Peace at the beginning of a war—there might be some hope for the solution of European problems then. . . .

## War No Solution

The world faces many problems today just as serious as war and far more worthy of sacrifice. None of these problems is going to be solved by this war. They will all be left staring at us in even more aggravated forms when it is over. They will be left for our children to solve in an atmosphere of even greater fear, bitterness and mistrust than that in which we live today. How can these problems be solved without peace? And on their solution, perhaps, the future of the world rests. "For the first time in the history of humanity," as Dr. Carrel points out so beautifully in his book, *Man, the Unknown*, "a crumbling civilization is capable of discerning the causes of its decay. For the first time, it has at its disposal the gigantic strength of science. Will we utilize this knowledge and this power? It is our only hope of escaping the fate common to all great civilizations of the past." . . .

I urge a patient, persistent, long-range attitude toward peace, without too many qualifications before a truce is begun. Not a Peace, maimed and in rags, limping in weariness at the end of a long war; but an early Peace, in the full strength and beauty of her powers. Not a peace built on bitter humiliation on one side and bitter arrogance on the other; but on a mutual desire for welfare.

This peace would not have to stand on the security of promises easily broken. It might have to stand on arms for the present. It might stand temporarily on the security of forts and battleships and warplanes. In fact, it might, in the beginning, be not much more than an armed truce—not really very different from the state of affairs in Europe today, but different enough to form a wedge for further negotiations.

This further peace, to which one hopes an early armed truce might lead, would have to rest, of course, on the only security possible for a lasting peace—that of mutual interests and mutual advantages.

If Hitlerism is a spirit and you cannot kill or incarcerate a spirit, how can you deal with it? It can only—as Madariaga once said so aptly—be exorcized. To exorcize this spirit you must offer Germany and the world not war—but peace—a bigger peace than has ever been offered before, an active and not a static peace, one which can bend with the needs of men. For a peace which does not take into consideration change, and progress, will surely never last.

Before you comply with all those so-seemingly-logical arguments that claim an early peace is impossible; before you join your voice to the clamour for war; I ask you in all humility to consider the alternatives. And I ask you, too, under the storms of discouragement and defeatism which, I know, besiege us, to hold fast to your vision, if you have had one. Dreams are not as unimportant as the non-dreamers would have us think. They have had their place even in the logic of History. As



MRS. LINDBERGH

Whitehead says in his *Adventures of Ideas*, "The world dreams of things to come, and then in due season arouses itself to their realization." It takes patience to wait for the "due season." But it takes also faith and tenacity—some of the faith and tenacity that made a Chinese wife sing two thousand years ago,

"Mine was the only way."

## "Speaking Personally"

The second—and final—article by Frank Dawtry under the heading "Speaking Personally" will appear next week.

Frank Dawtry is contributing two articles to this series, and not three, as we announced when we published the first one last week.



## An Elephant Never Forgets

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# Are Pacifists to Blame for the War?

It will be remembered that the Bishop of Grantham was reported to have said in a sermon at Lincoln Cathedral that it was his firm belief, based on very sound evidence, that the people who went by the name of pacifists were more responsible than anybody else for the fact that we were again at war. But what is this very sound evidence, as presented by the Bishop in response to the suggestion of the Editor of Peace News that he should explain further his assertions?

The Bishop quotes one statement made by Mr. Baldwin on November 12, 1936, which he claims as the most recent evidence of the effect of pacifist belief when translated into political activity. What therefore the Bishop really means is, that if we had been more fully armed in 1933 we should have prevented Hitler coming to power and the subsequent aggression, and, further, that the pacifists are to blame for the war in 1940 because they were the reason that Britain was not so re-armed. I venture respectfully to deny most emphatically both of these deductions.

## The Facts

For what are the facts? Let them be stated as briefly as the limitation on space demands.

(1) Under the Treaty of Versailles it was recognized that future peace depended upon disarmament and "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertook strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses." This meant that to all intents and purposes Germany was to become a disarmed nation.

Germany consented to this clause "on the condition that this will be the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, and that at latest two years after the conclusion of peace the other shall also proceed to a limitation of their armaments."

M. Clemenceau, on June 16, 1919, expressly recognized that the acceptance by Germany of these conditions was meant to hasten the realization of a general reduction of armaments and that it was the intention of the Allies to open negotiations immediately with the view to the eventual adoption of a scheme of general reduction.

(2) That Germany did disarm is admitted and vouched for by the International Commission of the League and the fact that she was allowed admission to the League. The Bishop, of course, admits this by implication.

(3) Neither Britain nor the Allies kept their word.

Mr. Lloyd George said on November 7, 1927, that the nations which had pledged themselves to disarm following the German example had taken no steps to disarm. On November 24 he stated in the House of Commons that we were the only country in Europe that was spending more money on armaments. This is supported

## Sybil Thorndike

(continued from page 1)

the means with the Eternal.

Means and methods are not Eternal—they should be capable of change without everybody's feelings being hurt, and if feelings are hurt then don't let us be allowed dangerous playthings like high explosives. We're none of us wise enough to have them, and feelings of murder which we all have at times shouldn't be encouraged.

This brings me to the woman's attitude towards misunderstandings and quarrels, which do occur even in the best-run homes. The stronger, the cleverer, is the one that is held responsible, and he or she is generally urged to make the move towards peace, and as there is never a quarrel without some fault being on both sides, the stronger is usually the one who eats humble-pie, and if he owns he's not perfect the weaker not-so-wise one is nearly always helped towards a better feeling.

Oh! England—our family—strong and clever, and with our so many wise, good men and women—how wonderful if we could be the first nation to own we had perhaps been at fault, and by that means help our brethren nations who are not always strong enough to be humble!

Our rich family to help the poorer families—some of them tiresome, not-too-pleasant families!

Must we turn away because we have great possessions? We could be the wise housekeeper of the world, if we cared; we could save the world—by humility and charity.

## STUART MORRIS REPLIES TO THE BISHOP OF GRANTHAM

### The Bishop's Letter

To the Editor of "Peace News."

Sir, You are kind enough to suggest I should explain further why I believe that pacifists must bear a large share of the responsibility for the fact that England is again involved in war. A great number of your readers and sympathizers have written to me, and for the most part their letters are of a fiercely militant character, reckless in personal abuse, in fact, not the sort of communications that encourage a quiet answer. But let that pass.

I am not concerned with the rightness or wrongness of warfare; for many of us that is settled by the 37th article of Religion. I am only concerned with what is the consequence and effect of Pacifist teachings when translated into political activity. The most recent evidence of this may be found in a speech of the Prime Minister on November 12th, 1936. He was replying in the course of a debate of which the subject was—Why had two precious years been lost in preparing England to meet the rapid growth of German rearmament, illegal in itself under the Peace treaties, and carried on at a cost of £800,000,000 per annum? Mr. Baldwin's answer was as follows:—"You will remember at that time (1933) there was probably a stronger pacifist feeling running through this country than at any other time since the War. You will remember the election at Fulham in the autumn of 1933 when a seat, which the National Government held, was lost by about 7,000 votes on no issue but the pacifist. . . What chance was there within the next year or two of that feeling being so changed that the country would give a mandate for rearmament?" Here is the direct evidence of the Prime Minister that the pacifist

movement was responsible for the delay. I think we shall all agree that if England had been strong enough to make her voice effective at the critical time, the Nazi leaders would have hesitated to rearm and embark on their course of aggression. But she was not ready, and Mr. Baldwin told us why.

I do not know if your readers know the "Christian News Letter"—I recommend it to them if they do not. A fortnight ago the eminent American writer and thinker, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, concluded an article in the "News Letter" with these words:—"It may yet be proved that the greatest tragedy of the present war is that the Nazi tyranny was allowed to grow until it reached unparalleled proportions, precisely because so many citizens of Christian civilization were prevented by these scruples from resisting the monster while yet there was time." It is obvious he is referring to the circumstances I have mentioned above. The scruples of pacifists delayed rearmament, at the time when resistance was possible and a war might have been avoided. I think Mr. Niebuhr is perfectly right.

History could supply us with instances of this melancholy truth, that when peace-loving folk go, mistakenly, to the length of neglecting the proper defence of their country, trouble comes. Disarmament means incapacity to act if a crisis arises; then there develops a situation which involves war.

Yours,

(Signed) ALGERNON GRANTHAM.

Stoke Rectory,  
Grantham.  
1.2.40.

by Lord Cecil, who on resigning his office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster on August 13, 1927, stated that in the preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference he was compelled by instructions to maintain propositions which were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labours.

(4) In 1928, under the Treaty of Locarno, we renounced war as an instrument of national policy, which was tantamount to a reaffirmation of the pledge implicit in the Treaty of Versailles.

### Disarmament

(5) The failure of the Disarmament Conference to come to an agreement is well known, but the blame for that can hardly be laid at the door of the pacifists.

To quote the comments of Sir Arthur Keith, "The Conference proceedings can hardly be said to have given Germany much hope of a successful outcome, and the abrupt withdrawal from both the Conference and the League in October, 1934, was not unnatural. Germany, however, submitted counter-proposals of which the most vital point was the offer to accept an army of 300,000 men, but France, despite British advice, proved obdurate, and the opportunity slipped away."

(6) Subsequently, Germany, feeling that she was refused equality on the basis of disarmament, determined to seek it on the basis of armaments, and started creating an air force on March 1, 1935, re-introducing compulsory service a fortnight later.

(7) I come now to the declaration by Mr. Baldwin which the Bishop quotes, but I suggest that it is only fair to read the whole speech together with the subsequent speech on November 18, in which he elaborated on the earlier one.

I quote again from Sir Arthur Keith: "A very important declaration of his conception of the duty of a government by Mr. Baldwin on November 12, elaborated on November 18, revealed to a rather astonished world the fact that he had realized two years earlier the deficiency of Britain's defence preparations, but had not attempted to remedy them because of the risk of loss of popularity and of seats in the general election." In the course of this later speech, Mr. Baldwin said "there are people who seem to imagine that the government in that time (that is, 1934) should have gone forward with an extensive re-armament programme. From the national point of view, which is all that matters, that would have been disastrous to the very cause that we knew to be essential to the national safety."

(8) One further set of facts.

Reference to the Budget figures of the years since the war shows that on no occasion has a sum of less than £103,000,000 been voted for the needs of the three Services. In many cases the total is consider-

ably larger and such average expenditure bears out the contention that we were never, in point of fact, disarming.

I would suggest that the only deductions that can be drawn from these facts are as follows:

(a) that we ought to have disarmed but did not do so, since there was not the difference between reduction in armament and disarmament, the one being a question of expediency and the other involving new principles;

(b) that if we had done so it would not have been due to pacifist activity but to a general consensus of opinion as to the futility of war and to the desire to avoid a further war;

(c) that the accession of Hitler to power was largely due to the treatment of Germany in the post-war period and in particular in our refusal to meet legitimate German claims in the political and economic field;

(d) that the British Government was trying to make the best of two worlds, refusing to face such risks as might be involved in real disarmament and to make the sacrifices which would be necessary to establish peace by striking at the root causes of war, and on the other hand not being willing to put to the country the consequences of a full rearmament programme.

### Munich

This persisted right up to the Munich Agreement, when the present Prime Minister arrived home waving a document which he described as a charter of peace in our time, only within a day or two to show the real value he attached to it by demanding a further speed-up in the armament programme.

If the Bishop still asserts that peace and security could have been found in armaments, he seems to me to be flying in the face of the whole of history, and in particular of Sir Edward Grey, who, as he looked back upon the consequences of the arms race in 1914, wrote, "The moral is obvious; great armaments lead inevitably to war."

The pacifist cannot be blamed for a policy of partial disarmament, for that has never been our solution; they cannot be blamed for a policy of complete disarmament, for that has never been attempted.

And since pacifism is not to be seen merely in terms of disarmament and a refusal to fight but in a policy of real constructive peace-making, which means the removal of the fundamental causes of war, any honest critic must surely admit that such pacifism cannot be judged to have failed, since it has never been tried.

Had the pacifist policy prevailed, the Treaty of Versailles would have taken a very different shape, there would never have been the so-called Victory Blockade

and the starvation of Germany after the war, there would have been real all-round disarmament, the whole colonial system would have been revised to secure self-government for all people, the real freedom of the seas and of markets, and such a sharing out of raw materials as would have distributed the surplus instead of destroying it. In a word, the giving to the younger generation of Germany that gesture for which Stresemann pleaded when he said to Austen Chamberlain: "If you could have given me one concession, I could have won the youth of Germany for peace: that you did not or could not was our tragedy and your crime."

Had this been done, there would probably never have been a dictator of the name of Adolf Hitler nor the subsequent aggression.

### Christianity and War

Space will not permit me to deal with the point which the Bishop has tried to make about the Christian attitude to war, though I feel concerned to point out to him that, as he well knows, only general assent is required to the Articles of Religion and that, even if the 37th Article can be interpreted as the Bishop desires, is interpretative not binding upon others, and the Article cannot therefore be appealed to as settling this question.

The appeal of the Christian Pacifist is not to an Article but to Christ himself, who though his country was under subjection and though the subjecting power was guilty of widespread massacre, refused to put the issue to the arbitrament of violence and proceeded to face his own enemies without relying on a single sword, that he might make plain what was God's way of dealing with evil things and overcoming evil with good.

I would suggest to the Bishop that had Christ chosen the other way there is little likelihood that he would have survived still to challenge the conscience of man. Instead of blaming pacifists for the war and suggesting that disarmament means incapacity to act if a crisis arises, we should do better to seize this present opportunity to save the peace by entering into negotiations within which disarmament might once more be attempted, for if disarmament involves the incapacity to act in certain futile ways, it means also the capacity so to seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness that all those other things—freedom, security, peace—may be added to us.

Stuart Morris

## TOMORROW!

By Sybil Morrison

WOMEN'S Peace Day is here.

Tomorrow women all over the country will be demonstrating their belief that the only hope for a just peace is by free Negotiation Now.

The call given by the Women's Peace Campaign committee for a nation-wide demonstration as a preliminary to mobilizing women's thought and opinion against war has received a response which has exceeded all expectations.

Many Groups all over the country have taken the burden of organization off my hands by making their own arrangements with energy, imagination and efficiency.

Words of encouragement, good wishes, donations, offers of help have poured into the office. I have not been able to answer all the letters myself, but I want to send this personal message of gratitude and thankfulness to all who have written and all who have helped. The inspiration of their individual thought and effort has made a solid basis for the Women's Peace Campaign to take its stand and continue its work.

I believe the time to be ripe for women to make a great united effort for the cause of peace. Mr. Churchill has given a call for a million women to make munitions. We must ask ourselves, is it the business of women to make the weapons of destruction? If it is then it must also be their business to take part in the killing. Is there a woman in this country whose instinct does not revolt against the killing of other women and of other women's sons and husbands, fathers and brothers? I believe not.

As citizens we have a duty and a responsibility; as women we have an influence and a power essentially our own. Now is the time to use it. Churchill has given us a call to war. Our instinct, our common sense and our conscience say "No." Let us make that "NO" heard from Land's End to John o' Groat's.



# "Make an End of War: Don't Fool With It Any Longer"

## WOMEN LEADERS OF OTHER LANDS ON PEACE AIMS

"Concentrate upon one idea only . . . that the women of the world make a united display and demand of the forces which formulate the peace terms . . . that an end of war be made."

"A tremendous demand could be made by the women of the world to make an end of it and not to fool with the subject any longer."

THAT is one of the suggestions made by women of many lands in a symposium collected by the International Federation of Business and Professional Women.

The symposium is intended to stimulate discussions on "Peace Aims" at meetings of federations which belong to the International Federation on "International Night," Friday next.

The women whose views appear in the symposium are leaders of various organizations. Some of them lived through the bitter experience of the last war, either as neutrals close to hostilities or as citizens of warring countries.

The words quoted above are those of Carrie Chapman Catt, AMERICAN founder and honorary chairman of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Following are other points from the views expressed:

**Fru Alva Myrdal, of SWEDEN, Vice-President of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women:**

"We must strive to become specific. But this demand makes it much more difficult and even dangerous to fix too long in advance that definite peace programme for which we shall one day join our forces. Its contours begin to clarify, however, some kind of federation among nations."

"The first thing necessary for peace activities thus seems to be something as simple as more knowledge."

"This may seem a very humble programme of beginnings for women's peace activities. Women can do more. And they shall do more. But it seems to me the time has not yet come for calling on the thousands and millions of women to join in one concerted action . . . let these tasks, with their giant calls on our hands and brains and hearts, first have their time. . . Then the world and we ourselves shall know for certain that when women once take up their international mission it will amount to something more than words."

**Dr. Minnie L. Maffett, President of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs of the United States:**

"One does not hear today the dogmatic conclusions about international issues which one has heard in other wars, nor does one hear so often the verdict that war is inevitable, for the belief is rapidly gaining ground that peace is possible, but that to get it each nation must be willing to consider human rights before national rights and to exchange intolerance for tolerance, dishonest, selfish practices for honest, unselfish practices. An old order is changing, giving place to a new understanding of democracy."

**Annie Williams-Heller, formerly a member of the Austrian Federation of Business and Professional Women:**

"What kind of peace should we have after the war? A peace, where all the participants sit at the table not as victors and vanquished, but as representatives of human beings that were fighting for their nation. The kind of peace we should have must be based on economic and humane principles, not on politics alone. . . The economic problem—it seems to me—must be considered as one of paramount importance."

**Dr. Ruza L. Sturm, former official representative of the Czecho-Slovak State Railways:**

"We wish and pray anew for a way to a lasting peace. Our first contribution to it should be our realization that no peace will be lasting

if taken for granted. It has to be worked for by all of us, from day to day, not by pacific speeches, but by daily practice in living the ideals which make peace last."

"The ideals of freedom of the individual, tolerance and co-operation when applied to nations will undoubtedly lead American women to ask the right of life for small nations as well as large, and demand the best possible design of future political and economic structure, which would minimize the danger of future recurrence of their oppression by regimes spreading racial and national hatreds. The idea of a federated Europe will find them most receptive."

## Women's Campaign Plans for Tomorrow

THE following meetings, demonstrations, &c., have been arranged in connexion with women's Peace Day tomorrow (Saturday). Meetings arranged by the Women's Peace Campaign for other days next week will be found in the Diary on page seven.

**CARDIFF:** 2.20 p.m. 43 Charles Street; volunteers asked to meet for a Silent March of Women; further details obtainable from the Secretary, 176 Newport Road, Cardiff.

**CROYDON:** 3.45 p.m. Katharine Street and Rev. Patrick Figgis at open-air meeting; preceded by poster processions (2.30 p.m.) from Thornton Heath Pond and Red Deer, S. Croydon.

**DARTFORD:** 2.30 p.m. Meet Dartford SR Station for West Kent PPU Region's women's march; men selling Peace News.

**EASTLEIGH:** 2.45 p.m. form up in The Crescent; Women's march and meeting; speakers: Elsie Yates, Gwen Bagwell, Frank Carr, and others. **GLASGOW:** 3 p.m. Central Halls, 25 Bath Street; Miss Annie Maxton, Mrs. Sybil White, Rev. C. Vincent Williams and Lady Robertson (chairman); Women's Peace Campaign.

**GUILDFORD:** Miss Archer, 8 Wherwell Road, is organizing poster parade and mass selling of Peace News; offers of help should be made to her.

**HULL:** 2.30 p.m. Women's poster parade leaves Peace Centre, 64 Prospect Street.

**LEEDS:** demonstration; all those wishing to participate communicate with Miss Dorothy Burden, 115 Victoria Road, Leeds, 6.

**LIVERPOOL:** 2.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street; Helen Byles Ford, Mrs. M. H. Grieve (chairman); 4 p.m. silent march from Islington Square. Men to sell Peace News report 3-4 p.m. outside Scala, Lime Street, or Islington Square.

**LONDON:** 2 p.m. Poster parades start from 6 Endsleigh Street; Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street; and 145 Grays Inn Road.

**NOTTINGHAM:** 2 p.m. outside Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane; poster parade; helpers required.

**OLDHAM:** 2.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 13a Manchester Street; meet for Peace News selling and leaflet distribution in connexion with Women's Peace Campaign; 4.30 p.m. tea; followed by discussion on "Increased Co-operation Among Groups"; PPU.

**REOS:** 3 p.m. poster parade; names to local secretary.

**ROMFORD:** 2.30 p.m. meet Romford Station for women's demonstration; 4 p.m. public meeting, Carlisle Institute; speakers: Mary Gamble and Rose Simpson; chairman: Mrs. Pavitt.

**SHEFFIELD:** 3.30 p.m. Victoria Hall, Lower Lecture Hall; meeting for women (men also invited); Dr. Kathleen Rutherford, Lady Mabel Smith, Mrs. Doris Cole (chairman); collection. Preceded by poster parade; details from Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley.

**SUTTON:** 2.30 p.m. rally at Wallington Station for march (3 p.m.) to Cheam; marchers provide own posters, &c.; organized by Cheam and Ewell PPU groups; help from neighbouring groups welcomed.

**WATFORD:** 3 p.m. Meet High Street Station for Peace News selling and poster parade; 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Derby Road; Dorothy Evans and Geoffrey Norman on "A Just Peace Now."

**WELWYN GARDEN CITY:** 2.30 p.m. Community Centre; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; public meetings; Mrs. Duncan-Harris in the chair.

**WEMBLEY:** 7.45 p.m. St. Andrews Hall, Ealing Road; Mary Gamble, Sybil Morrison and Basil Painting; chairman: Mrs. A. L. Howse.

**WOOD GREEN:** 4.30 p.m. Assembly Rooms; Rev. B. C. Hopson; chairman: Rev. O. Waterhouse.

## NEWS OF TRIBUNALS

See also page 8

## If Britain Went Pacifist—Poser for Objector

THE South Wales tribunal for conscientious objectors, at their sitting at Cardiff last Thursday gave a vision of what they thought would happen if the country were mainly pacifist.

They were considering the application of Alun Davies, a grocer's assistant of Bargoed, who had been accepted by his church as a man suitable for training as a minister.

After the applicant had said he had a conscientious objection to taking up civil work at the request of the Government, the chairman, Judge Frank Davies, said: "We want clear evidence of the working of your conscience before the war. The Government recognizes that there are objectors who have given clear evidence of their con-

science. It is only because of the smallness of the number that they are willing to give exemption. If you were more numerous you would not get recognition. Ours is the only European country which recognizes conscientious objection to war."

A member of the tribunal, Mr. J. H. Williams, JP, said: "There are two percent of the young men who say they will not help provide food for the country in war-time. Let us reverse the position. Suppose 98 percent were objectors and only two percent were willing to help the Government we should starve."

The applicant did not have words ready to deal with this shaky argument. He was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he undertook food production or distribution.

## Divide and Rule Policy?

C. J. VARNEY, of 38 Domic Drive, New Eltham, S.E.9, draws our attention to the apparent ruling by the Appellate Tribunal, "that there is no provision made in the National Service (Armed Forces) Act for purely political objection."

Acting upon this, Judge Davies—hitherto an extremely fair and impartial Chairman of the S.E. Tribunal—told an applicant that whilst a week or two earlier he would have been able to have given exemption on political grounds, it was not now permissible, and he was put on the Military Service Register.

Mr. Varney suggests that it seems "that the Government is now about to show its hand by adopting the old method of divide and rule. Because of this, the call should go out to stand firm and demand that this anomaly be remedied without delay."

## Test Tribunals

The following test tribunals for conscientious objectors have been arranged:

### Today (Friday)

**GLASGOW:** 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms; Gorbals and Hutcheson; (also Bailie Porter on "The Tribunal"); Group NCL.

### Sunday, February 18

**GLASGOW:** 3 p.m. "Band Hall," Knightswood Road, Knightswood; Yoker and Knightswood Group, NCL.

### Thursday, February 22

**MAIDSTONE:** 7 p.m. 348 Loose Road; PPU.

### Friday, February 23

**LONDON, W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; Fellowship of COs.

## FOR MIDLAND C.O.s

Donald W. Pickerill, of 9 Fisher Avenue, Woodthorpe, Nottingham, would be pleased to hear from COs travelling to Nottingham for their cases to be dealt with by the Midland tribunal.

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<p><b>To Let</b></p> <p>LADY SEEKS CO-TENANT. Unfurnished half small modern house. References exchanged. —Muir, Olive Drive, Neston, Cheshire.</p> <p><b>BOOKS</b></p> <p>BOOKS! New and secondhand. Catalogue free. State interests.—D. Kinver, 2 Midmoor Cottages, Minions, Caington Cornwall.</p> <p><b>TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR.</b> The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.</p> <p><b>EDUCATIONAL</b></p> <p>FELCOURT SCHOOL, East Grinstead. Co-educational 9-16. A thorough education in an atmosphere free from war talk. No shelters or gas mask drill.</p> <p><b>ESPERANTO</b></p> <p>ESPERANTO: Pacifist Esperanto League.—Secretary, W. J. Bridgen, 232 Sellincourt Road, S.W.17. ESPERANTO PRINTING—same address.</p> <p><b>HEALTH AND MEDICAL</b></p> <p>MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitticom), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth. (Letchworth 885).</p> <p><b>MEETINGS, &amp;c.</b></p> <p>INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE (Forest Gate Branch); 7.30 p.m., Tuesday, February 20, "Glendale," 234 Romford Road, Forest Gate. (500 yards from "Princess Alice"). Mr. Stanley Cannon will speak on "Parliament Christian." All welcome. Special invitation to refugees.</p> <p><b>PERSONAL</b></p> <p>CO's WIFE would share home in return for help and care of baby whilst carrying on husband's business.—Box 320, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>GENTLEMAN (flat, West London) would like to meet another (17-27) as companion.—Box 321, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>PEN-FRIENDS await you in many countries. Encourage peace by pen-friendship. Particulars, write—H.O.C.A., Thorpe, Suffolk.</p> <p>WANTED—young foreign girl au pair. Help with housework in exchange for home and English lessons.—Hills, Somershill, Bexley, Kent.</p>	<p><b>QUAKERISM.</b> Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.</p> <p><b>SITUATIONS</b></p> <p><b>Vacant</b></p> <p>INTERESTING and responsible secretarial-domestic post, in London community, for person aged 25-30.—Apply Box 324, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p><b>SHORTHAND TYPIST</b> (pacifist), 18-20, good at figures. Preferably Central, or N. London.—Write salary, age and experience.—Box 323, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p><b>WANTED FOR SOMERSET.</b> Gardener to manage large garden. Flowers and vegetables. One able to drive lorry preferred. Send particulars experience.—Box 316, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p><b>Wanted</b></p> <p>PACIFIST (24) urgently requires clerical post. Experienced in accounts, correspondence, office routine, etc. or would accept agricultural work. Box 325, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p><b>WORK URGENTLY WANTED</b> by CO (24). Married. Travel anywhere.—R. Watters, 6 Maybury Gardens, London, N.W.10.</p> <p><b>PRINTING</b></p> <p>PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes, and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 232 Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.</p> <p><b>TYPEWRITING</b></p> <p>FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and Duplicating.—Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2863.</p> <p>LAMB BRAND, best ribbon made, 2s. postage paid. Name typewriter and colour(s).—Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston.</p> <p><b>WHERE TO STAY</b></p> <p>DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform, Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Central Heating. H. and C. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel.: Ambergate 44.</p> <p>IN THE "VALLEY OF PEACE." Guest House that provides an escape from war atmosphere. Vegetarian Food Reform table. Log fires. Beautiful setting near Beech Woods. Tariff from proprietors.—"Fortunes Well," Sheepscombe, Stroud, Glos.</p> <p>LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B and B 5s., double 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.</p>



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# STOP THE ROT!

By John Barclay

CIVILIZATION cannot go down the drain so long as there are enough pacifists sitting in the plug-hole. The appalling waste of life all round us and the grim announcements of the slaughter in Finland are evidence enough of the low level to which our decency has sunk. Newspaper writers seem to be quite happy if they can parcel out the blame according to their own political colour. The futility of the business seems to pass them by. Political parties are reaching a state of complete deadlock; not one of them seems to have either faith or hope. The mere repetition of ideals from which all colour and life has departed is causing despair to settle down like a fog on the general body of politically-minded people. As this despair becomes more profound, the political opportunist will seize his chance and leap to the front.

It is more than ever necessary, therefore, for those of us who have faith—who still see the man beneath the beast—to stand up and declare that war is a futile method of achieving our ends, and must be stopped at all costs. We shall meet with plenty of abuse, but also with a great deal of support.

## The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

It is the work of small groups in remote districts which is of the greatest value just now. I am filled with admiration by the heroic witness now being made by thousands of individuals who, in small villages and country towns, are confronted by the full blast of "outraged Blimpism." If they can withstand the storm as it sweeps over them, they will be the foundation on which the next step is built. In the towns it is comparatively easy to find fellowship and help, but in country districts where all are known, it is a lonely and heartbreaking task. During the next few weeks, there is certain to be much misrepresentation by the National press and we may have to rely on the greater freedom of the local press to report our progress. For this reason, I do appeal to everyone who cares for freedom of speech and independent thought and criticism to write at least one letter a week to both national and local papers. Even though you do not get your letter printed, the witness is there and will make itself felt.

## Two Letters

THIS letter is from a British airman who, in the last war, had shot down an enemy machine within our own lines; it is written to the mother of the German airman who lost his life when he crashed:

"It's your son. I know you can't forgive me for I killed him. But I want you to know he didn't suffer: the end came very quickly. He had your picture in his pocket. I am sending it back, though I should like to keep it. I didn't think of him or of you when I shot at his machine: he was just an enemy, spying out our men. I couldn't let him get back to tell the news; it would have meant death to our men. I know you must have loved him. My mother died when I was quite a little boy, but I know what she would have felt if I had been killed. War isn't fair to women; God, how I wish it were over."

And this was the reply of the German mother:

"There is nothing to forgive. I see you as you are in your troubled goodness. I feel you coming to me like a little boy astonished at having done ill when you meant so well. I am glad your hand cared for my boy. He was my youngest: to women war is a reality, for all men are our sons. Yet perhaps women more than men are to blame for this world-war. We did not think of the world's children as our children. The baby hands that clutched our breasts were so sweet, we forgot the hundred other baby hands that stretched out to us. And now my heart aches with repentance."

Those of us who live in towns have a greater responsibility. It is for us to go out into the village and stand the racket there. I have been to country places lately and know the need there is for practised speakers. We have to arouse the constructive imagination of simple people. The war will bring in its train misery, suffering and hatred and it will need the reconciling influence of thousands of peacemakers to establish an atmosphere of good will within which a negotiated peace is possible. We must appeal to the courage and humanity of men and women everywhere. Unless a great number of individuals are prepared to give all they have now it may be that the time will be too short. It does not need great imagination to visualize the results of widespread starvation and death all over Europe. We may be faced with complete physical collapse as well as moral disintegration. Pacifists must rally all the forces of good will and common sense and continue the not impossible task of stopping the war and building a peaceful world. The decision for action rests with each one of us.

## What the Groups Are Doing

**A** CALL for a negotiated peace at once, before events embittered public opinion, was made by Dr. Alex. Wood at a public meeting held by King's Lynn group last Friday.

Dr. Wood agreed that a negotiated peace would involve risks, but said the risks would still exist at the end of a prolonged war. International good faith and trust had to be established, and risks were worth while to that end.

Mr. R. H. Kerkham, chairman of the meeting, was prospective Liberal candidate for the King's Lynn division up to the outbreak of hostilities. He said that economic difficulties ought to be tackled immediately after an armistice, which should be sought forthwith.

The meeting secured a front-page report in Saturday's *Eastern Evening News*.

### Expansion in Blackpool

**B** LACKPOOL group is more than holding its own. Propaganda work is being forged ahead, regular public meetings are held in the Friends' Meeting House, which are all well attended.

The selling of *Peace News* in the streets of the town is earning good publicity for the group. Business people and non-pacifists are commenting kindly on this effort. In this respect full credit should be bestowed upon the young ladies of the group, who are the most diligent workers at selling *Peace News*.

Efforts are being made to find agricultural work in the district for COs from various parts of the country.

The group's membership is rapidly growing, whilst, in addition, a tremendous influx of Civil Servants into the town (part of the Government's evacuation scheme) has done much to inject new blood into the meetings.

The group meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m., in the Friends' Meeting House, Raikes Parade.

### Nottingham Regional Meeting

**M**ISS SYBIL MORRISON and Stuart Morris addressed a crowded audience of about 400 people at the Nottingham Regional Meeting on January 25.

Questions and discussion followed and a resolution was passed unanimously supporting Mr. George Lansbury for the 1940 Nobel Peace Prize.

### Chiswick's Leaflet for C.O.s

**T**HE Chiswick group, together with others in the West London Region and elsewhere, are about to have a leaflet printed suitable for house to house distribution now. Its object is to draw to the attention of all men of military age who are about to register or who will have to register in due course the futility of war and the grim implications of conscription.

Although they shall not abandon the usual leaflet designed for those about to register, this leaflet is primarily composed for the benefit of those who have not considered the matter and they will have the opportunity of considering their feelings and perhaps crystallizing any latent pacifism.

The printing will be executed by PPU printer at reasonable prices based on the current cost of paper. Inquiries and orders should be sent to Leonard P. Phillips, 27 Waverdon Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.

## Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

### Today (Friday)

**EWELL, Surrey:** 8 p.m. Scouts' Headquarters (rear of Post Office), High Street; meeting on "Federal Union"; PPU.

**GLASGOW:** 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Batson Street; A. Shaw (SPGB) on "Socialism & Conscription"; NCL, Govanhill group.

**GLASGOW:** 7.30 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; John Barclay at mass meeting; PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m.; 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Nancy Richardson on "The work of the Pacifist Service Bureau"; PPU.

**LOTHBURY:** 1.15 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at the back of Bank of England); Andrew Stewart on "The Pacifist Task Now"; City PPU group.

**PORTSMOUTH:** 7 p.m. Central Hall, Fratton; George Lansbury, Dr. A. Salter and J. Howard Whitehouse (chairman); PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

(See also meetings in connexion with Women's Peace Campaign on this day, opposite page.)

**BRIGHTON:** 3 p.m. Union Church, Queen's Square; George Lansbury, Mrs. Duncan Harris and Rev. D. W. Langridge (chairman); Joint Pacifist Committee (PPU, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, FoR, Society of Friends, Women's Co-operative Guild).

**HALIFAX:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Clare Road; James H. Hudson on "This Crazy War"; No Conscription League.

**MANCHESTER:** 3.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Public Meeting: "Negotiate a Just Peace Now." Speakers representing FoR, PPU, Society of Friends, Women's Co-operative Guilds, WIL.

**WOLVERHAMPTON:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Horsman Street, Chapel Ash; regional conference members in South Staffordshire and surrounding district; PPU.

**WORCESTER:** 5.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; John S. Stevens on "What Germany Would Contribute to a New Europe"; PPU.

### Sunday, February 18

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Dr. Theodore Faithfull on "Economics"; PPU.

**EDINBURGH:** 2.30 p.m. Melbourne Hall, George Forth Bridge; Ronald Kidd on "British Liberties in Decline"; conference convened by Trades Council; delegates and other interested people invited.

**EDINBURGH:** 6.30 p.m. Oddfellows Hall (Forrest Road); John Barclay on "Practicality of Peace Now"; also open-air meeting, Mound at 2.30 p.m.; PPU.

**NELSON, Lancs:** 7.45 p.m. Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street; Mrs. Margery South; chairman, Miss Alice Bolton; Women's Peace Campaign.

**SUTTON:** 3 p.m. Guide Hall, Robin Hood Lane; Sybil Morrison and Muriel Heath on "Women, War and Peace"; PPU.

### Monday, February 19

**EDINBURGH:** 3 p.m. Meeting at Mount; Women's Peace Movement.

**EDINBURGH:** 7.30 p.m. Meeting in Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest Road; Women's Peace Movement.

**OSWESTRY:** 7.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 15, Oswald Road; John Barclay on "The Defence of Freedom"; PPU.

**PECKHAM, S.E.15:** 8 p.m. Co-op. Hall, Rye Lane; Preston Benson—"The War—What They Do Not Tell You"; PPU.

**RHOSLLANERCHRUOG:** 7 p.m. Bethlehem Independent Chapel; Laurence Housman, George M. Ll. Davies, and Richard Bishop; chairman, Rev. D. Wyre Lewis; admission by ticket, 3d.; PPU.

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Broadweir; Mary Gamble and Maurice Rowntree on "From War to Peace"; chairman, Dr. L. Maldwyn Edwards; Bristol Pacifists' Societies.

**GUILDFORD:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ward Street; Rev. Martin E. Tupper on "The Development of Pacifism in the Churches"; PPU.

**SWANSEA:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Rev. Basil Viney on "Non-Violence As a Political Method"; United Pacifist Group.

**TROWBRIDGE:** 7 p.m. Tabernacle Church Room; Rev. K. M. Preston on "The Teaching of Jesus"; PPU.

### Tuesday, February 20

**ALTON:** 7.30 p.m. Assembly Rooms; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, PPU.

**CAMBRIDGE:** 8.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 12 Jesus Lane; Principal Robinson on "Why I am still a Pacifist"; PPU.

**COLWYN BAY:** 7.30 p.m. YMCA Hall, Old Colwyn; Laurence Housman, George M. Ll. Davies; chairman, Rev. Rosamund Barker; PPU.

**TAUNTON:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bath Place; Maurice Rowntree on "From War to Peace"; Taunton Peace Group.

### Wednesday, February 21

**CARDIFF:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Charles Street; inaugural meeting, South Wales group. Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship; details from S. E. New, 176 Newport Road, Cardiff.

**RAMSGATE:** 7.30 p.m. Congregational Hall; John Barclay and Basil Painting; PPU and FoR.

**STOURBRIDGE:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Scotts Road; W. H. Butler on "Work of Friends' Ambulance Unit in the last War"; PPU.

**YEOVIL:** 7.30 p.m. Park School, Park Road; Brian S. Filkin on "The International Voluntary Service for Peace"; Yeovil and District United Pacifist Group.

### Thursday, February 22

**CAMBRIDGE:** 8.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 12 Jesus Lane; Canon Charles Raven; PPU.

**ELTHAM:** 7.45 p.m. Sherard Hall (behind Congregational Church), Court Road; Rev. A. D. Belden; PPU.

**DUNDEE:** 8 p.m. PPU Room, 6 Manmure Street; COs' meeting; Dr. C. A. Coulson on "Pacifism and Loyalty to the State"; PPU.

**GOLDERS GREEN, N.W.11:** 7.45 p.m. St. Michael's Parish Hall, The Riding; debate, "Was Jesus a Pacifist?" For: Rev. C. Paul Gliddon. Against: R. H. Rosetti; PPU.

**LEICESTER:** 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; annual general meeting; Leicester PPU and FoR.

**LUTON:** Friends' Meeting House, Castle Street, 7.30 p.m. Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, on "The Pacifist Message in the Church"; Luton Baptist Pacifist Group.

### Friday, February 23

**LONDON, E.C.2:** 1.10 p.m. Vestry, St. Margaret's Lothbury (behind Bank of England, entrance in St. Margaret's Close); Rev. R. Sorensen, MP, on "Christianity and Peace"; PPU, City of London group.

**PINNER:** 8 p.m. Vagabonds' Hall, Eastcote Road; John Barclay; PPU.

**READING:** 8 p.m. Palmer Hall, West Street; Dr. Alfred Salter, MP; chairman, Rev. Booth-Taylor; PPU and FoR.

**SUNDERLAND:** 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Toward Road; W. Gordon Carey on "Federal Union and Peace"; PPU.

## A SERIAL CONFERENCE

### "CAN THE WAR STOP?"

The purpose of this serial Conference is to discuss from many aspects the conditions which made the war inevitable, and to examine the possibility of constructive peaceful living within a war-conditioned society so as to reassert socially a true sense of values and bring about the elimination of war.

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Easter: 22nd-25th March At Basque House, Langham, Colchester  
Saturday and Sunday, 20th and 21st April At the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, London  
Whitsun: 11th-13th May At Basque House, Langham, Colchester

Full particulars are available from Walter Griffith, Secretary,  
The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, London, W.1



## Another Way To Tell Your Neighbours

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 35,153 (nearly sold out)

Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £18 2s. 11½d.

Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £476 13s. 1d.

WRITING to support the proposal by Miss E. Thickens (in *Peace News* on January 19) for buying three extra copies of the paper each week for dispatch to three people in the telephone directory, a Dagenham reader, George A. Dubock, writes:

"However, it would appear to me to be much wiser to send these copies to people in one's own district rather than to work through the telephone directory. In this connection, may I suggest that those interested in the idea might approach their local council and obtain a list of the names of all the residents in that particular district who are on the voters list. This is, I believe, easily obtainable.

"Would it be too much to suggest that all groups might adopt this scheme with any copies unsold and thus assist the movement both financially by abolishing 'returns,' and morally by the possible increase of membership."

(The *Peace News* fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

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## PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

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Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS

No. 192

16.2.40

## "What Would You Do If . . . ?"

### COURT DECISION ANSWERS AN OLD JIBE

I HAVE heard an applicant before the local CO tribunal held up to scorn for saying that he would not do violence even to a man that insulted his wife (writes Principal G. A. Sutherland, of Dalton Hall, in the *Manchester Guardian*).

The implication of the tribunal's comments was that such assault would have the approval of all reasonable men.

It is, therefore, interesting to note (report in the *Manchester Evening News* of February 1) that the Brighton bench of magistrates recently rejected a defendant's plea of justification on these very grounds when he was charged with striking another man. The reality of the insult to the defendant's wife was not called in question, for in the same court the other man was convicted of improper conduct in her presence.

#### No Justification

The Bench found that there was no legal justification for the assault, the Chairman remarking, "We can quite understand the defendant's natural indignation and resentment on hearing of the insult to his wife and seeing her distressed condition, but that did not justify him in administering punishment."

It seems strange that a CO should be held up to scorn for an attitude the morality of which has already the sanction of the law of the land. I have also heard a CO asked what he would do with aggressors "like Germany and Russia?"

I cannot detect any consistent principle underlying the opposite policies of the British Government in dealing with these two aggressors. Because the CO believes in passive and not violent resistance he is usually misrepresented as advocating standing aside and doing nothing. Even if the accusation were true he would merely be advocating the very policy that for no high principle but for sheer expediency Great Britain is now pursuing with Russia. Or have I missed a declaration of war?

### Tribunal Results in Brief

IN the following analysis of local tribunals' decisions. A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service.

#### MIDLAND

At Nottingham, February 5-7.

A	..	..	..	C	..	..	9
B	..	..	43	D	..	..	11
Total				63			

Ten other cases were adjourned—seven of them "sine die."

Our observer writes: "The sine die adjournment raises an important issue, upon which Judge Longson has made his ruling.

"It occurs in the case of men who, having registered, have become or are about to become 'reserved,' and the adjournment lasts so long as they remain reserved. If the reserved age in any particular case is at any time raised, thus making such an 'adjourned' man liable, his case will then be dealt with on conscientious objection grounds. In these adjournments no attempt is made by the tribunal to probe the conscience.

"All the cases thus treated were agricultural workers.

"The good atmosphere of the tribunal continues, and if anything, understanding grows, but a nasty taste is still left by the fact that job is very often a deciding factor rather than depth of conscience."

#### NORTH-EASTERN SCOTLAND

At Aberdeen, February 6 and 7

A	..	..	5	C	..	..	1
B	..	..	16	D	..	..	—
Total				22			

Our observer comments: "The cases put up by the older lads are much better expressed and have evidently been more clearly considered on the whole, but applicants who are inarticulate and can scarcely express what is in their minds are getting the same fair treatment as those whose powers of oratory have drawn appreciative comment from the chairman."

#### Scottish Appeal Tribunal

Members of the Society of Friends in Edinburgh are anxious to help in any way possible applicants appearing before the Appellate Tribunal for Scotland. Intimation should be sent beforehand to Francis B. Gibbins, the Clerk, at Friends House, 28 Stafford Street, Edinburgh, 3.

HOW MANY NEW READERS HAVE YOU GOT THIS YEAR?

### U.S. Opinion Secured French Pacifist's Release

A FRENCH correspondent writes that the great French pacifist writer, Jean Giono, was imprisoned as a "defeatist" in September and released two months later when opinion in the United States revolted.

A film, *La Femme du Boulanger*, from one of his novels was on the screen and ended with a photograph of Giono with: "This man is now in prison in France because he is a pacifist."

### HOW SOLDIER C.O.s MAY BE PUNISHED

THE punishment of soldiers who disobey orders for conscientious reasons is dealt with in an Army Order, an extract from which was supplied by the War Office to Cecil H. Wilson, MP, last week.

The Order (No. 10) was published on May 25, 1916, and is understood to be still in force.

The extract reads:

"OFFENCES AGAINST DISCIPLINE: 1. Where an offence against discipline has been committed and the accused soldier presents that the offence was the result of conscientious objection to military service, imprisonment and not detention should be awarded.

"2. A soldier, who is sentenced to imprisonment for an offence against discipline, which was represented by the soldier at his trial to have been the result of a conscientious objection to military service, will be committed to the nearest public civil prison."

### FUTURE TRIBUNALS

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors (dates are inclusive):

#### NORTH WALES

In County Buildings, Colwyn Bay, today. In County Buildings, Wrexham, Feb. 26 and 27 (10 a.m. and 2 p.m. on all dates).

#### SOUTH WALES

In Guildhall, Swansea, Feb. 19 (11 a.m. and 2 p.m.). In Civil Court, Law Courts, Cardiff, Feb. 21 (10.30 a.m. and 2 p.m.); Feb. 22 and 23 (10 a.m. and 2 p.m.). In Guildhall, Swansea, Feb. 27 (11 a.m. and 2 p.m.); Feb. 28 (10.30 a.m. only). In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, Feb. 28 (2.30 p.m. only); February 29 (10 a.m. and 1.30 p.m.).

#### SOUTH-WESTERN

In Bristol, Feb. 21-24, 26-29; March 12-14, 27-29.

#### NORTH-WESTERN

In Conference Hall (old Council Chamber), Town Hall, Manchester, probably today (9.45 a.m.).

#### LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

#### SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

## Americans Picket Our Ambassador

### "FREE INDIA" APPEAL

A WOMAN picket carried a sign, "Does England Love Democracy? Free India" when Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, spoke at the English-Speaking Union in Chicago last month.

She was one of three pickets who urged that America should be kept out of war, and whose presence caused some excitement. People attending the tea given in Lord Lothian's honour argued with them; passers-by encouraged them.

One irate gentleman asked a police sergeant: "Can't these people be arrested?" The sergeant replied that in America people were still free to express themselves.

The same evening Lord Lothian spoke at a banquet held by the Council for Foreign Relations and attended by a thousand people. On this occasion there were four pickets.

One man carried a sign which read, "England expects every American to do HER duty" on one side, and "Banquets for all, not bullets," on the other.

The picketing was a last-minute spontaneous idea of individuals, not organizations.

## "Can the War Stop?"

A serial conference has been arranged jointly by Max Plowman and the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club "to discuss from many aspects the conditions which made the war inevitable, and to examine the possibility of constructive peaceful living within a war-conditioned society so as to reassert socially a true sense of values and bring about the elimination of war."

Although the progress of the conference cannot be determined in advance, the quality of the speakers indicates that pacifists will have the opportunity of considering fully what social action they can take in the months which lie ahead.

The first weekend will be at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, on March 2nd and 3rd. Club members are trying to find hospitality for pacifists from the provinces. J. Middleton Murry and Max Plowman will speak. Maurice Rowntree will lead a fellowship meeting on the Sunday, and Adelphi Music Club, the musical section of the Club, is arranging a short programme for the Saturday evening.

Full particulars of the conference and booking forms are obtainable from Walter Griffiths, Secretary, The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, London, W.1.

### Norwegian Women's Peace March

On December 10—which, in former years, was the day of the distribution of the Nobel Prize—over twenty women's organizations went in silent procession through Oslo, Norway, and held a big mass meeting for peace and reconciliation between nations.

### Young Pacifists Lose a Link

Through the banning by the French authorities (reported in *Peace News* a month ago) of *La Voie Nouvelle*, the paper of the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix (International Students' League for Peace), the Youth Peace Union in Britain has lost one of its most valuable links with comrades abroad.

The former membership of the LSIP in Britain was merged with the Youth Peace Union.

Marcel Pichon, of the LSIP, is launching a fund to aid members affected by military measures.

STOP PRESS